

VOTER ID LAWS: A VIEW FROM THE PUBLIC

APPENDIX A

Table A1
Survey Questions Used to Create Figure 1

Date of Survey	Source	Question	Dem	Rep	Total	Rep-Dem
4/2006	NBC/WaPo	I'm going to read you several major changes that could be made in politics or specific policies. For each one, please tell me whether you would strongly favor, mildly favor, feel neutral about, mildly oppose, or strongly oppose this change. Q17c. Require voters to produce a valid photo identification when they go to vote	73.7	90.9	81.8	17.2
10/2006	Pew	On Election Day, should voters be required to show an official photo identification, such as a Driver's License, or shouldn't they have to do this? (Should/should not)	73.2	89.6	81.3	16.4
11/2008	SPAE	Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections? Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote. (Support/oppose)	64.8	89.8	76.2	25.0
11/2008	CCES (AEI/Brookings)		81	96.8	87.6	15.8
11/2008	CCES Common		69.7	92.6	80.7	22.9
10/2009	Fox	Do you think people should be required to show photo identification or a social security card to prove US (United States) citizenship before being allowed to register to vote? (Yes/No)	77.6	93.9	84.7	16.3
4/2012	Fox	Do you think people should be required to show photo identification or a social security card to prove US (United States) citizenship before being allowed to register to vote? (Yes/No)	87.6	93.9	90.7	6.3
4/2012	Fox	Do you think requiring voters to show photo identification at their polling places before being allowed to vote is a good idea because it helps avoid fraud or a bad idea because it could discriminate against people who don't have a driver's license or other photo id? (Good idea/bad idea)	54.2	89.7	72.9	35.5

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Date of Survey	Source	Question	Dem	Rep	Total	Rep-Dem
5/2012	U. Del	(Now, I have a few questions about voter identification laws, or voter ID laws.)...(If Not at all/Somewhat familiar with voter ID laws/Don't know/Refused, ask:) Voter ID laws require individuals to show a form of government issued identification when they attempt to vote. (If Very familiar with voter ID laws, ask:) As you know, voter ID laws require individuals to show a form of government issued identification when they attempt to vote.)...Opponents of voter ID laws argue they are unnecessary because voter fraud is very rare. What is your opinion, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose voter ID laws?	62	94	75	32.0
6/2012	IBD/TIPP	In your opinion should voters be required or not required to show a state-issued photo ID (identification) at the polls before being allowed to cast a ballot? (Require/not)	52.1	91.8	70.5	39.7
7/2012	WaPo	In your view, should voters in the United States be required to show official, government-issued photo identification--such as a drivers license--when they cast ballots on Election Day, or shouldn't they have to do this? (Yes/No)	61.9	88.9	76.3	27.0
7/2012	NYT		44.8	94.6	69.7	49.8
9/2012	NYT	As you may know, there have been efforts in some states to require voters to show a photo identification card to vote. Some people say this is needed to prevent people from voting who are not eligible to vote. Other people say such efforts are designed to suppress voting by minority voters. What do you think--do you support or oppose efforts to require voters to show a photo identification card to vote?	49	94	71.4	45.0
11/2012	SPAE	Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections? Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote. (Support strongly/support somewhat/oppose somewhat/oppose strongly)	54.4	88.4	71	34.0
11/2012	CCES (MIT/Reed)	Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections? Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote. (Support strongly/support somewhat/oppose somewhat/oppose strongly)	51.1	95.6	72.4	44.5

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Date of Survey	Source	Question	Dem	Rep	Total	Rep-Dem
11/2013	CCES (MIT Module)	Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections? Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote. (Support strongly/support somewhat/oppose somewhat/oppose strongly)	63.2	92.9	75.5	29.7
7/2014	McClatchy	Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing if election laws were changed to do each of the following?...Require voters to show identification in order to vote (Good thing/bad thing)	74.2	99	86.5	24.8
5/2014	Fox	There is a debate about state laws that require voters to show a valid form of state--or federally-issued photo identification to prove US citizenship before being allowed to vote. Supporters of these laws say they are necessary to stop ineligible people from voting illegally. Opponents say these laws are unnecessary and mostly discourage legal voters from voting. What do you think?	56.1	92.9	72.2	36.8
11/2014	SPAE	Do you support or oppose any of the following proposals for new ways of voting or conducting elections? Require all people to show government issued photo ID when they vote. (Support strongly/support somewhat/oppose somewhat/oppose strongly)	51.8	91.2	71.3	39.4

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APPENDIX B

Table A2

Distribution of responses to seven questions used to create dependent variable

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	N
Photo voter ID laws will keep people who are ineligible to vote from voting.	11.07%	10.00%	28.87%	50.06%	1,834
Photo voter ID laws will keep people from voting multiple times.	10.51%	11.80%	27.20%	50.49%	1,820
Photo voter ID laws will make it harder for people who are eligible voters to vote.	38.34%	18.71%	17.71%	25.25%	1,863
Photo voter ID laws are unnecessary, because voter fraud is rare.	43.53%	21.64%	14.43%	20.41%	1,812
Photo voter ID laws are a good idea, even if voter fraud rarely happens.	14.21%	10.43%	20.96%	54.40%	1,864
Photo voter ID laws are mostly supported by people as a way to keep those who disagree with them from voting in elections	42.43%	14.69%	15.11%	27.77%	1,796
Photo voter ID laws are mostly supported by people as a way to keep elections clean and fair.	16.66%	8.55%	20.81%	53.98%	1,852

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APPENDIX C

Table A3

Sources of Citizens' Attitudes about the Effects of Voter ID Laws

Variable	Coefficient	S.E.
Republican	-0.294	(0.237)
Ideology (conservative)	0.148**	(0.029)
RepublicanXIdeology	-0.064+	(0.036)
Female	0.073	(0.052)
RepublicanXFemale	-0.055	(0.065)
Black	-0.019	(0.071)
RepublicanXBlack	-0.181	(0.137)
Hispanic	-0.009	(0.080)
RepublicanXHispanic	0.118	(0.122)
Other Race	-0.066	(0.091)
RepublicanXOther Race	0.248*	(0.112)
Education	-0.008	(0.018)
RepublicanXEducation	0.017	(0.022)
Age	-0.003+	(0.001)
RepublicanXAge	0.004*	(0.002)
South	0.064	(0.063)
RepublicanXSouth	-0.062	(0.076)
Strict Photo ID state	0.100	(0.087)
RepublicanXStrict Photo ID state	-0.086	(0.101)
Fraud Scale	0.159**	(0.048)
RepublicanXFraud Scale	-0.134*	(0.059)
Voter ID Knowledge	-0.092	(0.059)
RepublicanXVoter ID Knowledge	0.145*	(0.073)
Follows News	-0.145**	(0.041)
RepublicanXFollows News	0.168**	(0.050)
Racial Resentment Scale	0.408**	(0.054)
RepublicanXRacial Resentment Scale	-0.204*	(0.081)
Constant	0.274	(0.201)
N	1282	
R ²	0.556	

Note: dependent variable is a standardized scale [-1, 1]. Positive values suggest respondent believes voter ID laws keep elections free and fair, while negative values suggest voter ID laws make voting more difficult for some.

+p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

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APPENDIX D

Table A4

Opinions about the Effects of Voter ID among Party Leaners and Party Purists

Variable	Sample			
	Reps	Reps no leaners	Dems	Dems no leaners
Ideology (conservative)	0.085** (0.022)	0.103** (0.025)	0.148** (0.029)	0.165** (0.032)
Female	0.018 (0.039)	0.005 (0.047)	0.073 (0.052)	0.079 (0.055)
Black	-0.200+ (0.118)	-0.212 (0.207)	-0.019 (0.071)	0.025 (0.075)
Hispanic	0.11 (0.093)	0.112 (0.088)	-0.009 (0.079)	-0.023 (0.088)
Other Race	0.183** (0.065)	0.184+ (0.097)	-0.066 (0.091)	-0.019 (0.098)
Education	0.01 (0.013)	0.021 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.018)	-0.014 (0.018)
Age	0.002 (0.001)	0.003* (0.002)	-0.003+ (0.001)	-0.004* (0.002)
South	0.002 (0.042)	-0.048 (0.045)	0.064 (0.063)	0.042 (0.068)
Strict Photo ID State	0.014 (0.052)	-0.003 (0.063)	0.1 (0.087)	0.059 (0.099)
Fraud Scale	0.025 (0.035)	0.025 (0.037)	0.159** (0.048)	0.142** (0.051)
Voter ID Knowledge	0.053 (0.042)	0.110* (0.048)	-0.092 (0.059)	-0.087 (0.067)
Follow News	0.023 (0.030)	-0.038 (0.030)	-0.145** (0.040)	-0.146** (0.043)
Racial Resentment Scale	0.204** (0.061)	0.178* (0.070)	0.408** (0.054)	0.407** (0.059)
Constant	-0.021 (0.126)	-0.002 (0.125)	0.274 (0.201)	0.294 (0.220)
N	557	368	725	566
R-Squared	0.185	0.222	0.407	0.432

Note: dependent variable is a standardized scale [-1, 1]. Positive values suggest respondent believes voter ID laws keep elections free and fair, while negative values suggest voter ID laws make voting more difficult for some.

+p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01